1: Karsten--44-45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"...we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a

guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feeling to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians."

6

1: Karsten--45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574. 609 (1928-29)

"The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blowguns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries"

„My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguańchi (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed, 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaĕma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the

house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father."

1: Karsten--71-72 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
164, 609 (1928-29)

"The whole of Eastern Ecuador at that time [JKM: 1928-29] seemed to be suffering from an epidemic of measles, a malady which among the natives is by no means the innocent disease of children it generally is in Europe. I had found it raging among the Jibaros of the Upano also, and since the Indians rightly conclude that such epidemics come from the whites, it had been extremely difficult for me to get in touch with the Jibaros of that region. A white man entering an Indian house was at first looked upon almost as an enemy. During my stay on the Upano, however, I never thought of the region of Canelos too being visited by measles, as I now found to be the case. When I arrived there I was told that the [72] village was practically empty, the Indians shunning it for fear of the epidemic and living now scattered here and there in their tambos along the river. There was little hope of persuading some of the fugitives to return to the village and enter my service."

1: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro.
609, 753 (1928-29)

"Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!"

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: Winyáhei 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (chimbúi) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

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"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book On the Trail of the Unknown (p. 180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

a new itípi.' Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them saying the one word Winīti, i.e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--nikasneiti ('it is true') --naáketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

"Ceremonial greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out certain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, 'Who are you?'
Wétei (Andicheiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Amínyu wikáhei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunái --waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichama wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wáriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Séasa itáhei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itáhei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Séasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Máketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 721, 609

"We had not come for war, and somehow an end had to be put to this clamourous deadlock. There seemed no end to the capacity of those Jivaros' lungs. For three long hours they yelled, with varying intensity. At times I would start up the bank in an attempt to get into conversation, but each time they took it for a hostile movement on our part and redoubled their efforts to persuade us of their strength.

The spell was broken in the end by my leaving my rifle with Game in the canoe and walking slowly up the trail which ran up in full view of the barricaded house nearest to us, suffering agony from my raw feet, but managing to cover the ground by reason of the soft sand. It was not more than a matter of fifty yards all told. I had gone a little more than half-way (with my six-shooter slung out of sight) when there emerged from the hut three quaking youths. The unfortunates had evidently been chosen for a parley much against their will, for I do not exaggerate when I say that their knees would barely hold them and their 'walk' resembled that of a man sick of the palsy. Indeed I was convinced at the time that they were really sick--that perhaps some disease had swept through the whole tribe of Antipas. I tried to [190] open the negotiations in Inca, in Spanish, and with every odd scrap of every language at my command, but all to no purpose. The Jívaro dialect was at the time unknown to me. I then attempted to calm them by offering my hand. The custom was evidently unknown to them for they searched my palm attentively to see what present I might be bringing. Finally I resorted to gesture--motioning them to the canoe as if to invite them to see what we had. They were for making me go

first, but it is a safer rule to go last. So down we went in single file to where Game was sitting with his rifle across his knees, nursing his feet."

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 609, 576

"Pitacunca, [KS: medicine man and navigator] having landed, shot one glance at the camp and its inhabitants, and turned on his heel. Followed by the rest of the savages, he walked to a spot some twenty yards away, sat down with his back to all of us, and set up a dismal wailing chant in a minor key. His every action was imitated by the others, who joined in the chorus, and sent that dirge floating across the Marañon. Never a word had any of them spoken since they had caught sight of our outfit. They seemed to be stunned [231] by the sight of so many apaches (white people) and so much kit, as if the folly of having entrusted themselves to these unknown white creatures was suddenly brought home to them. No other reason occurs to me for so much yowling. It seemed as if they would never stop and we did not care to interrupt them, until finally Jack, whose first introduction to the Antipas cannot be said to have been inducive to a happy understanding, enquired in plain English whether they didn't see their way to changing the tune. The tune never was changed, but at the end of half an hour or so it died a natural death.

Little by little the Jívaros drifted over and seated themselves by the camp fire. Finally Jack and Ed. roused them from the trance into which they had fallen, the former doing a double-shuffle in the bottom of the Exploradora to the accompaniment of the latter's banjo. The savages were greatly inpressed, both by the unrivalled quality of the music and the dancer's skill! To complete their recovery, we presented them with the most glaring specimens of the shirts we carried for barter--they were striped

indiscriminately with orange, black, red, yellow and green, and were known among us as 'Hallelujahs.' "

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 609

"For an hour we floated along, nothing but the wash of the paddles to break the silence except the occasional squawk of a parrot. In the stem of my canoe sat Tuhuimpui steering. The three paddlers in the bow swayed to and fro with the ceaseless rhythm that knows no fatigue. Game and I amidships, seated back to back with our rifles across our knees, smoked in silence, never losing sight of the Indians for a moment. Tuhuimpui had received his orders--our dugout was on no account to move up from its place in the rear. We were taking no risks that morning.

Two shots from around the long curve down-stream in quick succession roused us from our reverie. In a flash I had swung my rifle to the right and fired full into Tuhuimpui's stomach. The chief wilted and slid into the bilge-water in a heap. I turned to see Game grappling with the nearest of the canoemen, his Winchester gripped at the muzzle by the savage. Before I had time to jump to his assistance, he too had fired and put an end to the scuffle. In a trice the remaining two slipped into the muddy torrent and disappeared. Meanwhile the canoes stretched out ahead, seeing what had happened, shot forward in a suddent [sic] effort to escape our fire. A few shots sent after them convinced them of their folly, and they took to the water, swimming and diving like a school of porpoises at sea. Once in the water they presented a very difficult target. Swimming below water, they would feel for the surface with one hand, bob up for an instant to take a breath, and disappear once more. And so they made their way ashore, abandoning everything in panic-stricken flight. [289]

Jack and Ed. were safe, we knew, for from down-stream came the sound of their firing, the heavy discharge of Jack's .450 followed by the sharper report of Morse's lighter weapon. Anxious to join forces with them, we left the now vacated flotilla of lighter canoes to drift along, and paddled ahead as hard as we could. The alarm had been given, and it was our first duty to see what had befallen our companions after making sure of our rear.

Foreseeing trouble, we had arranged on the night before that in case of a hostile move on the part of the savages, the signal should be two shots fired in rapid succession. It was agreed that they should not be fired without due cause, but that once the alarm was given, each of us would exterminate the Indians in his vicinity. There was to be no hesitation, for, much as we wished to avoid trouble, if trouble came we must meet it instantly. So when the signal shots were fired, we turned on the Jívaros like a flash, knowing that our friends were in great peril, if not already dead."

8: Dickey--201[3] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 123, 609

"Five of us, including one white woman, lived with a Jivaro tribe numbering nearly two hundred for six weeks. The only contretemps suffered by our party came when we had exhausted all our excuses for not partaking of the vin du pays, the far from delectable chicha mascada, which was offered to us constantly, and is a drink evolved from yuca root mixed with the saliva of toothless, elderly Indian ladies. Apart from that, our treatment left nothing to be desired."

10: Anthony--158 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 609, 193

"In general their behavior toward the whites who treat them properly leads to rather amicable relations. With us they were very friendly and very goodnatured, answering any questions as well as their poor Spanish allowed. Only a few of them speak Spanish, but they are intelligent and quick to grasp an idea so that a few words in Spanish aided by signs, may convey much. No one of those we met knew much Spanish, and a peculiarity I noted was the fact that almost always the verbs were used in the participial form. This gave to their conversation a sound very like that produced by riming verse. As an example, I heard this sentence:

'En camino pasando, animales encontrando, un mono matando, cuero sacando, billetes ganando,' which would be translated as: 'He goes along the trail, meets animals, kills a monkey, skins it, and gets some money.'"

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 609

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

18: Hermessen--445 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 609

"At an estimated distance of between 25 and 30 miles from Jamboé we passed the mouth of the Yacuhambi (or Yanazambi, as Wolf calls it), a river of respectable size flowing into the Zamora from the northwest. Two or three miles farther on we came to the Rio Nanguipa, which discharged into the Zamora on the right. We landed on the opposite bank, at the solicitation of the canoe-men, for a rest at a nearby house to which they conducted us. In it were several Jíbaros, none of whom evinced the least concern at our appearance, even giving me, a white stranger, only a casual glance."

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jíbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jíbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

29: Vité--22
116, 727, 609

(1934) 1935

Jívaro

While the frenetic dance continued and the piercing and rending shouts of the savages reverberated in the air to the mournful sound of the "dúndulos," we decided to retire, for given their great xenophobia, it would not have been strange for these Indians to have been overcome by a sudden access of fury against us, --profane spectators of their fiesta.

We withdrew cautiously and readied for any emergency, by no means at peace with the echo of the "dúndulos" which made it clear that the orgy of blood followed its normal rhythm, --a sign that the Jíbaros have not preoccupied themselves with us.

In the dead of night, we arrived exhausted at the most interior of the Salesian missions where we were received fraternally and surrounded with affectionate attentions.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná yaĉi*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then